174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of 601 kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This 591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live [851] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes 768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her,

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tayahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatrami)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(techira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachant)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 177 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(aroudil)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays sugar-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

582 [173] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [58] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally [605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 614 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1] which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:- 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151f., 463ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *iwssen)*, [601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(adeggal*, pl. *idoulen)*, or [606] daughters-in-law *(tadeggalt*, pl. *tedoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized 634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the 614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble 565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is [687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the 634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the 614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other 565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg 114 claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from 634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power 614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the 565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by [558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

[669] A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

5: Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

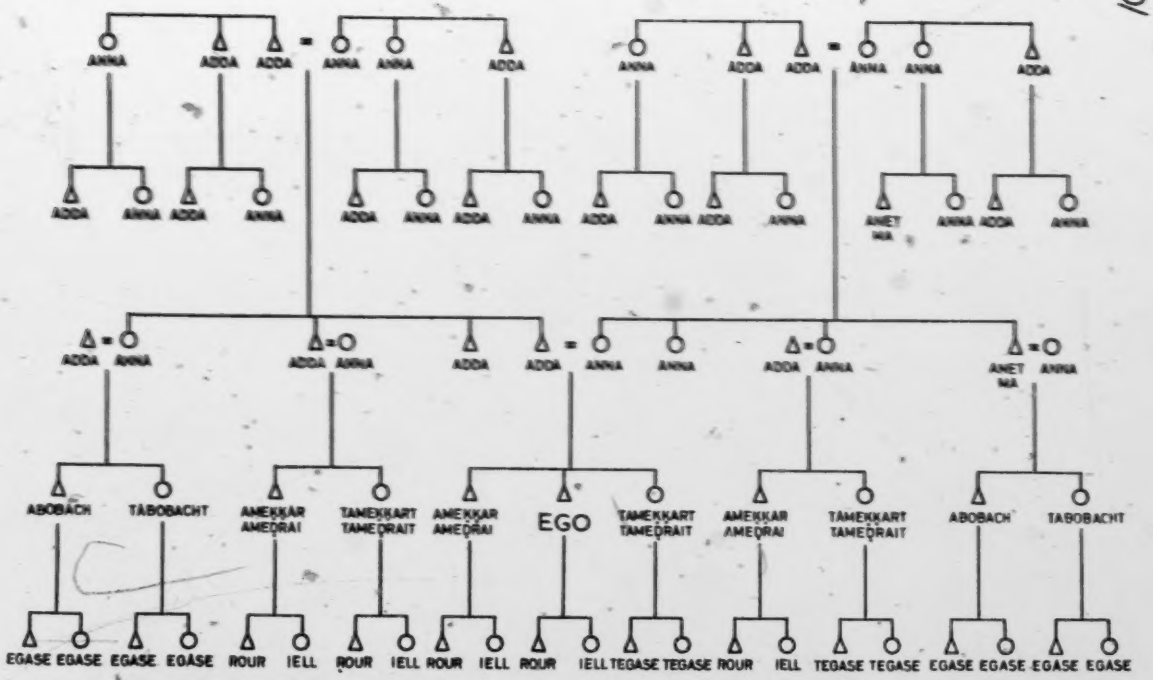

Fig. 8.–The kinship system of the Air Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Some of the kinship terms cannot be used without affixes of possesive pronouns. The meaning of the terms is as follows:– ADDA = father; ANNA = mother; ANET MA (correctly AÑET MA) = mother's brother; AMEKKAR (TAMEKKART) = elder brother (sister); AMEDRAI (TAMEDRAIT) = younger brother (sister); ABOBACH (TABOBACHT) = cross-cousin; ROUR = son; IELL = daughter; TEGASE = sister's child; EGASE = child of cross-cousin. Children of all persons termed ROUR, IELL, TEGASE, and EGASE are known as AJAOU = child's child. For EGO female TEGASE and EGASE are substituted with the terms for children (ROUR, IELL). Classificatory terms are not generally used for address, but children will address many kinsmen of ascending generations as "father" and "mother". Further information on Tuareg kinship is given fig. 9.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

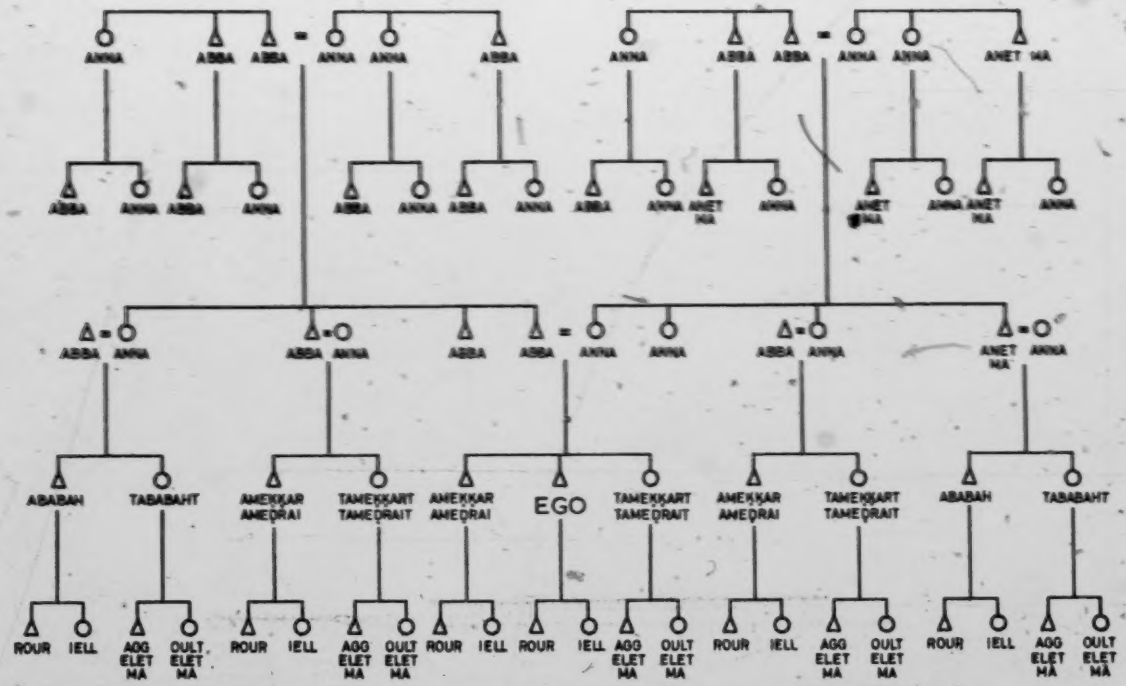

Fig. 9.–The kinship system of the Ahaggar Tuareg. ABBA = father; ANNA = mother; ANET MA (correctly AÑET MA) = mother's brother; AMEKKAR (TAMEKKART) = elder brother (sister); AMEDRAI (TAMEDRAIT) = younger brother (sister). ABABAH (TABABAHT) = cross-cousin; ROUR = son; IELL = daughter; AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) = sister's son (daughter). Children of mother's male cousins and father's female cousins are classificatory cross-cousins to EGO, while children of mother's female cousins and father's male cousins are classificatory brothers and sisters. Descendants of persons termed ROUR and IELL are known as ROUR and IELL, descendants of AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) as AG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA). For EGO female the terms AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) are substituted with terms for children (ROUR, IELL).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

Mother's brother's daughter	5
Father's sister's daughter	7
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Mother's sister's daughter	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter	9
Other kinswomen	8
Marriages total	44

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Aṭouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief (*Amġar*). These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the successor is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs. 614 [361] 621 476 [596] [422] [613] 622 [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans. [194] [601] 602

[Text continues on p. 108]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg-173 questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the 192 country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many 601 Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* 164 group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamanlak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *teneg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*.

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms.

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*),

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.

683 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at

233 436 682 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

	Age			*Colour*	
10	*iligad*, or *chét awtay*	(one year old)	10	*tibeydeɣin*	(white)
10	*tihusin*	(2 years old)	10	*tiluɣin*	(mahogany)
10	*tekkemifadden*	(3 years old)	10	*tizeggeɣin*	(reddish)
10	*tiɣuyar*	(4 years old)	10	*tibhawin*	(reddish brown)
10	*chét essin*	(5 years old)	10	*tilemlaɣin*	(grey)
10	*chét okkoz*	(6 years old)	10	*tizerifin*	(metallic grey)
10	*tinezzedas*	(7 years old)	10	*timengelin*	(dark grey)
10	*chét tahalt*	(8 years old)	10	*tikewelin*	(black)
20	*tireɣganin*	(more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*tizerɣafin*	(piebald)
			10	*tiwinaɣin*	(white cornea)

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 545 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadav*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *ahuba:* (pl. *ihubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Arabs MVO

A 177

pay bride-wealth like sedentary Arabs or pastoral Tuareg, but should they not pay bride-wealth in animals like pastoral Tuareg but follow the custom of sedentary Arabs, they generally pay less than the Arabs. The *Harratin*, who have Arabic as their mother tongue, generally follow the Arab rules of social organization, while negroid agriculturists, who descend from Tuareg slaves and speak Tuareg, practise the rules of the Tuareg social system.

T 601

Tuareg kinship systems differ radically from the Arab system just mentioned. The Tuareg have many descriptive terms for relatives, but these are also grouped together under very few terms in classificatory systems which are somewhat different in the various Tuareg groups. However, it seems to be a main characteristic of most true Tuareg kinship systems that there are distinctive terms for cross-cousins and parallel cousins. Here I describe in some detail the kinship systems of the Ahaggar Tuareg and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr.

AHAGGAR

Most relatives of ascending generations are known as "father" (*abba*) and "mother" (*anna*). But there is a particular term for "mother's brother" (*aňet ma*), which is also used for certain other relatives of the mother's family, particularly for persons who are related to Ego in the maternal line. Thus the term *aňet ma* is used for mother's mother's brother, for mother's mother's sister's son, and also for any older relatives matrilineally related to Ego, e.g., mother's mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's son. Two relatives of the mother's family are not necessarily matrilineally related to Ego, but are nevertheless termed *aňet ma*, namely mother's mother's brother's son and mother's father's brother's son.

Relatives of Ego's own generation are known as "brothers and sisters", or as cross-cousins. Brothers and sisters can be referred to as *aňaten* (sing. *aňa*) and *tañatin* (sing. *welet ma*), but these terms are used mainly for composed descriptive terms, e.g., *aňa n ti s em ma*, that is "mother's father's brother". Speaking of brothers and sisters the Ahaggar Tuareg will generally use terms which refer to age. There are terms for "elder brother" (*amekkar*) and "younger brother" (*amedray*), and similar terms for "elder sister" (*tamekkart*) and "younger sister" (*tamedrayt*). These terms are also used for true and distant parallel cousins, but the true age distinctions are then not the basis of terminology. If Ego's father's brother is older than Ego's father, father's brother's children will be "elder brothers and elder sisters" to Ego. Similarly, mother's sister's children will be "elder brothers and sisters" to Ego if their mother is older than Ego's mother. Distant parallel cousins are known as elder or younger brothers and sisters according to the same principle, the difference in age between grandparents determining whether they should be classified as "elder" or "younger". For true and distant parallel cousins there are additional terms which do not refer to age:— All true and distant parallel cousins of the mother's family are known as *ara n tañatin* ("children of sisters") or as *ara n tediden* ("children of women"), while true and distant parallel cousins of the father's family are called *ara n aňaten* ("children of brothers") or *ara n midden* ("children of men").

Relatives of Ego's own generation who are not brothers or sisters are cross-cousins. Male cross-cousins are termed *ibubah* (sing. *ababah*) while female cross-cousins are known as *tibubah* (sing. *tababaht*). Cross-cousins comprise not only children of father's sisters and children of mother's

[text continues on p. 452]

Fig. 293. The kinship system of the Ahaggar Tuareg for Ego male. For Ego female all relatives of descendent generations are "children".

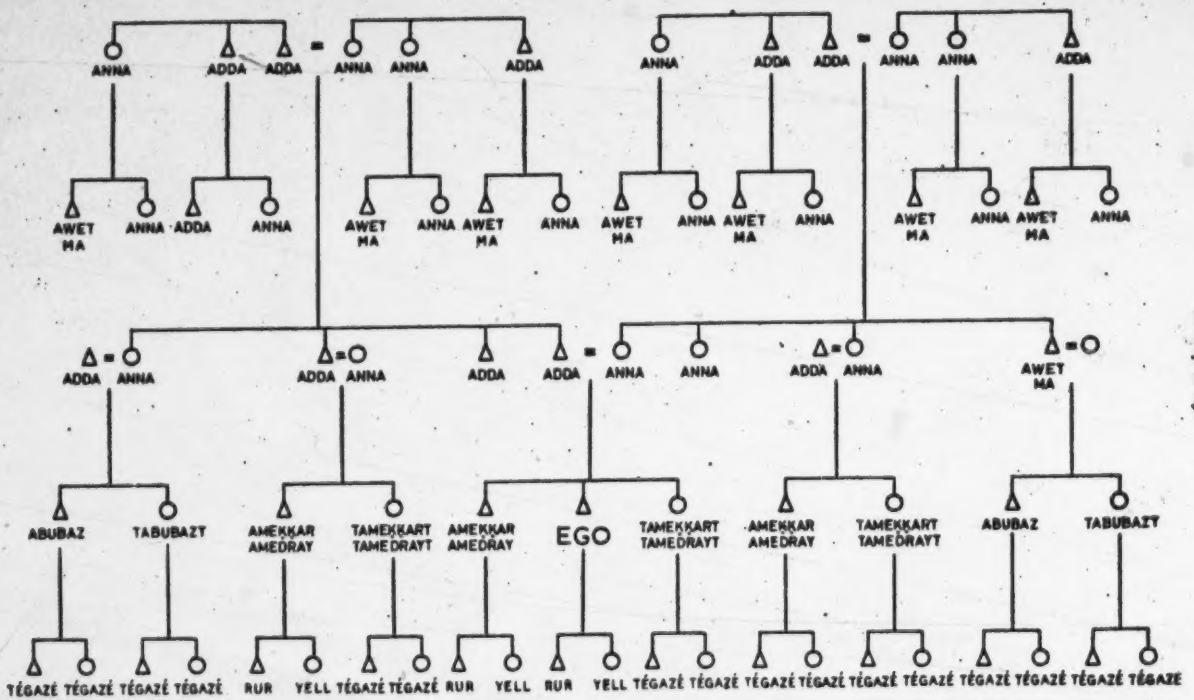

Fig. 294. The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (Ayr) for Ego male. All relatives of descendent generations are "children" to Ego female.

609

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

601 brothers, but also all children of father's female cousins and all children of mother's male counsins.

For descending generations kinship terms are different for Ego male and Ego female. Ego male will call all children of his sisters and all children of his female cousins *agg elet ma* ("sister's son") or *welt elet ma* ("sister's daughter"), while all children of his brothers and all children of his male cousins will be called *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). Descendants of persons known as *rur* (*yell*) are known as *rur* (*yell*), descendants of persons known as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*) as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*). Ego female has no "sister's children" but will call all relatives of descending generations *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). – Collectively all relatives of the second descending generation are known as *iheyawen* (sing. *ahaya*) or *tiheyawin* (sing. *tahayawt*). This term can be used for descendants of more distant generations as indicated by the tribal name *Iheyawen Hada*, that is "descendants of *Hada*".

AYR

[184] There are at least two distinct kinship systems in Ayr, both of which differ from that described above in the case of Ahaggar.

[171] The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have a system related to that of the Hausa-speaking population of Agadez and further south. In *Kel Ewey* the terms for "brothers" and "sisters" are never used classificatorily. All parallel cousins and cross-cousins are known as *ibubazen* (sing. *abubaz*; fem. *tabubazt*), and children of all cousins are known as *tégazé*, which is used both for males and females. The *Kel Ewey*, in contrast to other Tuareg, do not make any distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins. As far as my knowledge goes all this applies only to the true *Kel Ewey* and not for such Tuareg groups as the *Kel Tamat* and the *Ikezkezen* who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey*.

The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg comes close to the system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, but the two systems are not identical. The word *anna* ("mother") is used for all female relatives of ascending generations and also for spouses of such relatives, who are called *adda* ("father"). The term for "father" (*adda*) is applied to all grandfathers whether they are patrilineally or matrilineally related to Ego, to father's brothers, and to the husbands of father's sisters and mother's sisters. It is also applied to father's father's sons but not to other male cousins of Ego's father and mother, for all other male cousins of father and mother are termed *awet ma*, the word employed for "mother's brother". Thus the term *awet ma* is used for true mother's brothers and for most male relatives of the parents' generation, while it is never used for matrilineal kinsmen of the second ascending generation. The wives of all males termed *awet ma* are known as *tamtet n awet ma* ("mother's brother's wife") and not as *anna* ("mother").

The Kel Ferwan Tuareg do not use the term *aña* (pl. *añaten*) and welet ma (pl. *tañatin*) for brothers and sisters. When they talk about brothers and sisters without reference to age they use the terms for younger brother (*amedray*, pl. *imedrayen*) and younger sister (*tamedrayt*, pl. *timedrayin*). The term for "elder brother" and "elder sister" are identical with those used in Ahaggar, namely *amekkar* and *tamekkart*. Parallel cousins are called "elder brother" ("younger brother") and "elder sister" ("younger sister") according to the same rule as in Ahaggar. Should their father or mother be older

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

601

than Ego's father or mother, they are considered "elder brothers and sisters". Apart from true brothers and sisters and true parallel cousins, Ego has as "brothers" and "sisters" only the father's father's brothers' sons' children. Whether they should be termed "elder" or "younger" depends upon the difference in age of their grandfathers. These relatives, like the father's brothers' children, are sometimes called *araw n midden* ("children of men") while the term *araw n tedidin* is sometimes used for children of mother's sisters.

The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group have very few classificatory brothers and sisters. Children of the parents' cousins are cross-cousins with the exception of father's father's brothers' sons' children. In accordance with this we find that most relatives of the first descending generation are known to Ego male as "sister's son" or "sister's daughter" (*tégazé*), while Ego female will call all relatives of her first descending generation "son" (*rur*) or "daughter" (*yell*). She will also use these terms for all relatives of her second descending generation, while Ego male calls all children of *tégazé* relatives *égazé*. – Collectively, all relatives of the second descending generation are known to Ego male and female as *ayaw*.

Classificatory terms are used mainly for terms of reference and less frequently for address. However, grandparents and also their brothers and sisters are generally addressed "father" (*abba*, *adda*) and "mother" (*amma*). Many Tuareg also call their parents' brothers and sisters "father" and "mother", but personal names may also be employed when addressing these relatives, and are frequently used in the case of the parents' cousins. There is a common term of address which is used for all relatives of ascending generations if these relatives are much older than oneself. This term is *amṛar* (fem. *tamṛart*). It is a term of great respect and may be used to address parents-in-law (who rarely are addressed), and even for certain old people though they are not kinsmen. The word *amṛar* is further used as a title of a tribal chief. Kinsmen of one's own generation are generally called by name, though the term for cross-cousin is sometimes used to address cross-cousins in friendly conversation.

The words *ti* ("father") and *ma* ("mother") are not generally used for reference or address. They are employed mainly as descriptive terms, e.g., *ti s n ti s* ("his father's father"), *ma s n ti s* ("his father's mother").

Kinship terminology is different in Ahaggar and in Ayr but there are certain similarities which are even more remarkable for in-law terms. Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are known as *ihusan* (sing. *alegges*) and *tihusin* (sing. *taleggest*), and Tuareg of both groups recognize as such (1) all spouses of true and classificatory brothers and sisters, (2) all spouses of true and classificatory cross-cousins. The terms for parents-in-law and children-in-law are also identical for the two groups; a son-in-law or a father-in-law is called *aḍeggal* (*adeggal* in Ayr) (pl. *iḍulan*), while the feminine form *taḍeggalt* (*tadeggalt* in Ayr) (pl. *tiḍulin*) is used for a mother-in-law or a daughter-in-law. These terms are also used classificatorily and, strictly speaking, a person has as children-in-law the spouses of all relatives called children or sister's children. Consequently parents-in-law comprise all persons called "father", "mother", and "mother's brother" by the spouse.

The Tuareg speak about their kinship relations in terms of a man. They divide all their consanguineous kinsmen into three groups known by the Tuareg terms for "back", "stomach", and "side". The

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

601 Ahaggar Tuareg use the following terms for these three classes of kinsmen:— (1) *aruri* ("back") which term is used for relatives of the father's family its true meaning being a group of patrilineally related men; (2) *tésa* ("stomach") which is used for the mother's family with the correct meaning referring to a group of matrilineally related women; (3) *tégehé* ("side", correctly the place between the hips and the lower part of the chest). The proper meaning of this word is "persons descending from sisters and from their parallel female cousins in the maternal line", and is used to indicate the relationship between a man and his true and classificatory sisters' children. – The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr have similar terms with the same meaning:— (1) *aruri* ("back") for father's family; (2) *tédist* ("stomach") for mother's family – the word *tésa* in the Ayr dialect means "liver" and not stomach; (3) *tégazé* ("side") with the same meaning as *tégehé* in Ahaggar; the two words are identical, as the *g* in Ayr is always substituted with a *g*, the *h* frequently with a *z* or *j*. This word in Ayr is used to designate all true and classificatory sister's children, while the Ahaggar Tuareg refer to these relatives by the terms *agg elet ma* and *welt elet ma*. The term *égazé* used by the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg for the children of true and classificatory sister's children is related to *tégazé*; it also refers to part of the side.

602 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr largely follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. These are outlined below:—

(1) Respect must be shown to all consanguineous relatives of ascending generations, that is respect towards all relatives termed "father", "mother", and "mother's brother".

(2) Respect must be shown to all persons known as "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Rules of conduct towards such kinsmen are identical with those mentioned above towards kinsmen of ascending generations. Thus a younger brother on a journey with his elder brother will carry out all work as if he was with his father or another kinsman of ascending generations. When with his elder brother he must not talk about any matter referring to sexual life. He must not even talk too much about the copulation of domestic animals, and he should not mention such words as *imzad* and *tindé* – names of musical instruments used at nightly gatherings which may be accompanied by love-making. A man must not ask his elder brother for a gift, but should ask for anything he wants through a third person. When he wishes to marry, the permission of his elder brother should be asked like that of the father and other older relatives. When the father dies the elder brother takes over his position of authority. The identical rules of conduct towards a father (or older relative) and an elder brother can be clearly shown by the following example:— When I lived among the Tuareg I was incorporated in their kinship organization which is the rule for persons who have no relatives among the people they live among. Once I was attached as a younger brother to a man much older than myself. When travelling together among other Tuareg my "elder brother" was occasionally asked: "Are you his father?", and when replying:— "No, I am his elder brother", the questioner would sometimes add:— "Now, there is his father". For classificatory elder brothers (and sisters) the same rules are valid, even though in this case the "elder brother" may in fact be considerably younger than his "younger brother".

123

605 (3) There is a joking relationship (*tehandezzit* in Ahaggar, *adélen* in Ayr) between all true and classificatory cross-cousins. This joking relationship allows free talk about sexual matters, and when cross-cousins tease each other they frequently refer to matters of sexual life, e.g., "You sleep with old slave women!", "You run after women like a donkey-stallion after a mare!" Teasing permits

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matrilineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French